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OPPOSITION TO ORIENTAL IMMIGRATION

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The opposition to Oriental immigration is justified upon the single ground of race. Whether the incompatibility of the peoples of Asia and America can be attributed to race repulsion, race antipodalism, or race prejudice, one indisputable ground of race conflict remains, namely, that of race difference. The race difference between these peoples is radical and irreconcilable, because it reaches to the most fundamental characteristics of each. It is not a matter of tongue, of color, or of anatomy, although in each of these respects the difference is very clearly marked, but of morality and intellect.

Only upon the race ground can we comprehend the real nature and dimensions of the subject. Considered from this standpoint, exclusion follows as the inescapable law of our national safety and progress. Considered from any other standpoint—that is, with any other point as the basis of reasoning—the subject becomes involved in matters of detail, which, being in themselves matters of dispute, lead only to interminable discussion. Recognizing the race aspect of the subject as the main ground of exclusion, the minor grounds, such as those of an economic or political nature, serve to reinforce the argument as so many corollaries.

The instinct of race preservation is the strongest impulse of mankind in the aggregate. No incidents in history are more familiar than the successive Asiatic invasions of Europe. The influence of these invasions, persisting to the present day, is equally well known.

Nearly five hundred years before the birth of Christ the Asiatic invasion of Europe was successfully challenged by Miltiades on the field of Marathon. Ten years later Leonidas died at Thermopylae while defending the "ashes of his fathers and the temples of his gods." The success of the Persian king, Xerxes, on that occasion was but the forerunner of his defeat in the same year by Themistocles at Salamis,

"When on these seas the sons of Athens conquered
The various powers of Asia."

The two great battles between Alexander and Darius (334-331 B. C.), resulting in the destruction of the Persian monarchy, are so many incidents in the same great struggle. The conquest of a great part of southeastern Europe by the Huns in the fifth century, the defeat of Attila at Chalons, and the settlement of his followers in the country now known as Hungary, left the world the heritage of a mixed race that forms a constant menace to its peace. The invasion of Asia Minor and the Balkan States by the Ottoman Turks in the eleventh century laid the fairest region of Europe under tribute to Asia and demoralized the Caucasian race in that region, thus giving rise to that admixture of peoples, the type of which is commonly referred to as "unspeakable."

The best known and most far-reaching of these invasions is that which began under the leadership of Genghiz Khan, in the thirteenth century, followed by that of Timur, in the fourteenth century, and continuing at intervals until the sixteenth century. For 224 years, namely, from 1238 to 1462, the Mongols were supreme in Russia. The immediate result of the struggle to drive the Mongols back over the Urals was the establishment of an autocratic government, of which the present reigning house of Russia is the lineal descendant. A further result is seen in the Tartar strain that runs through the people of southern and eastern Russia, the utilization of which, as in the case of the Cossacks, is responsible for much of the cruelty perpetrated upon the people of "White Russia."

Of a kind with these historical race wars is the Arab invasion of Spain, in 711, and the subsequent incursions into France. Until 1492, a period of nearly eight hundred years, the Moors remained in control of almost the whole of Spain. The success of the Moorish invaders in France was short-lived. They were met and defeated by Charles Martel, at Tours in 732. In a few years they were driven to the southward of the Pyrenees, and thus a limit was set to the advance of Asia in Europe.

The persistence of these invasions, and the ferocity that marked their conduct, indicate quite clearly the irresponsible nature of the conflict between the races. The conflict is irrepressible because it

arises from a difference in the nature of the races. To describe this difference in so many words is a task the success of which must, of course, be limited by the ability to define and express the respective race instincts. Certain characteristics of the Asiatic and Caucasian races are sufficiently manifest to permit of contrast in terms of general comprehension. Such a contrast was drawn by United States Senator Perkins, in a speech on the Exclusion Law, in 1902, in which he said:

Personal freedom, the home, education, Christian ideals, respect for law and order are found on one side, and on the other the traffic in human flesh, domestic life which renders a home impossible, a desire for only that knowledge which may be at once coined into dollars, a contempt for our religion as new, novel and without substantial basis, and no idea of the meaning of law other than a regulation to be evaded by cunning or by bribery.

As exemplifying the attitude of the Chinese toward Christianity, the following, from a letter written four years ago by Ambassador Wu, is significant:

There is no objection to Christianity as a theory, but as something practical it is entirely out of the question. We tried such a system in China five or six thousand years ago, but we had to get a philosophy that the people could live up to. No people ever obey the precepts of the Christian religion; the whole system is a failure. Theoretically it is all right, but practically it is a failure.

A distinguished Japanese recently described Christianity as "not a religion, but a commercial system." This attitude of mind may account for the fact that the number of Chinese converts to Christianity amounted to little more than 1,000 after sixteen years' labor of about a hundred missionaries at the five treaty ports.¹ The number of such converts is still hardly more than nominal. It is authoritatively stated that not more than one per cent of the Japanese have embraced Christianity.

It is the superstitious that need religion, says the Japan "Mail." With no god to worship and no immortal soul to think about, educated people can pass their lives very pleasantly in the enjoyment that nature and art have bestowed upon them. Of what use to them is the religion that satisfies the uncultured mind?

¹"Religious Condition of the Chinese," by Rev. Joseph Edkins, 1859.

United States Senator Money, in a recent speech on the Negro question, thus describes the race from which the American people have sprung:

The characteristics of these people were their personal love of liberty, their high spirit of adventure, their willingness to take all responsibility, their ability to rise to the demand of every occasion, and one of the grandest features of it all was their profound respect and love for women.

The well-known views of Herbert Spencer, concerning the effects of race admixture, are highly pertinent at this juncture. In his letter to Baron Kentaro Kaneko, Spencer said:

I have for the reasons indicated entirely approved of the regulations which have been established in America for restricting Chinese immigration, and had I the power I would restrict them to the smallest possible amount, my reasons for this decision being that one of two things must happen. If the Chinese are allowed to settle extensively in America they must either, if they remain non-mixed, form a subjective race standing in the position, if not of slaves, yet of a class approaching slaves, or, if they mix, they must form a bad hybrid. In either case, supposing the immigration to be large, immense social mischief must arise and eventually social disorganization. The same thing would happen if there should be any considerable mixture of European races with the Japanese.

Lafcadio Hearn, in his "Life and Letters," casts a strong light upon the alleged assimilability of the Japanese, as follows:

Here is an astounding fact. The Japanese child is as close to you as the European child—perhaps closer, and sweeter, because infinitely more natural and naturally refined. Cultivate his mind, and the more it is cultivated the farther you push him from you. Why? Because here the race antipodalism shows itself. As the Oriental thinks naturally to the left where we think to the right, the more you cultivate him the more he will think in the opposite direction from you. . . . My conclusion is that the charm of Japanese life is largely the charm of childhood, and that the most beautiful of all race childhoods is passing into an adolescence which threatens to prove repulsive.

Speaking of the difference in the circumstances of race admixture in the United States and in other countries, and noting the advantage of the former in the fact that "a single language became dominant from the time of the earliest permanent settlement," Professor John R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin, says:²

²"Races and Immigrants in America."

This is essential, for it is not physical amalgamation that unites mankind; it is mental community. To be great a nation need not be of one blood, it must be of one mind. Racial inequality and inferiority are fundamental only to the extent that they prevent mental and moral assimilation. If we think together we can act together, and the organ of common thought and action is common language. Through the prism of this noble instrument of the human mind all other instruments focus their powers of assimilation upon the new generations as they come forth from the dis-united immigrants.

It is precisely in "mental community" that the Asiatic is most lacking. It is said that the Japanese language contains no words synonymous with "sin" and "home," presumably because the Japanese have no conception of either. They do not think in terms of Caucasian or Christian morality.

The economic and political grounds of opposition to Asiatic immigration have their bases in the race question. The Asiatic is a cheap laborer because he lacks the racial impulse that makes for the maintenance of a high standard of living. He is a menace to free government because he lacks the inspiration of personal liberty.

Referring to the attitude of the American working class toward the labor of alien races, Professor Commons says:⁸

They were compelled to admit that though they themselves had been immigrants, or the children of immigrants, they were now denying to others what had been a blessing to them. Yet they were able to set forward one argument which our race problems are every day more and more showing to be sound. *The future of American democracy is the future of the American wage-earner. To have an enlightened and patriotic citizenship we must protect the wages and standard of living of those who constitute the bulk of the citizens.* . . . For it must be observed in general that race antagonism occurs on the same competitive level. What appear often to be religious, political, and social animosities are economic at bottom, and the substance of the economic struggle is the advantage which third parties get when competitors hold each other down. . . . It was the poor white who hated the negro and fled from his presence to the hills and the frontier, or sank below his level, despised by white and black. In times of freedom and reconstruction it is not the great landholder or employer that leads in the exhibition of race hostility, but the small farmer or wage-earner. The one derives a profit from the presence of the negro—the other loses his job or his farm.

While it is true that ordinarily "race antagonism occurs on

⁸"Races and Immigrants in America."

the same competitive level," thus lending color to the assumption that the race problem is "economic at bottom," too great emphasis is placed upon the economic phase. Of course, Oriental immigration is induced largely by economic conditions. But were Orientals attracted to this country by other reasons entirely, and were they to occupy a different place in the social and economic order, the race problem would still persist.

It is frequently contended that an illimitable supply of Asiatic labor would be a good thing for the American workman, by relieving him of those forms of labor which are in their nature disagreeable and poorly paid. This view is sometimes expressed in the form of an analogy between the cheap laborer and the labor-saving tool. This contention is a complete reversal of the tradition concerning the "dignity of labor." The American workman, skilled or unskilled, is not yet ready to accept the classification of labor of any kind as a "tool" in the hands of other men. The American people are not yet ready to assume that certain forms of labor are less honorable, or "dignified," than others, and therefore less entitled to share the responsibilities and enjoy the respect of common citizenship.⁴

The number of Japanese at present in the United States is estimated at 130,000, of whom 60,000 are located in California, a decrease of 5,000 in that state during the past year, due to eastward migration.⁵ The number of Japanese in Hawaii is 72,000.⁶ The number of Chinese in California is estimated at 35,000; in the United States, 300,000.⁷ The Japanese own and control several of the most fertile parts of California and are rapidly making themselves felt in almost every branch of trade and commerce, not merely as cheap-labor "tools," but as active business competitors. The Asiatic population of Hawaii now exceeds that of the combined Caucasian and native elements.⁸ The same condition exists among the children in the public schools,⁹ and the increase of native-born

⁴Cheap labor may hinder industrial development. "Great estates ruined Italy." On the same principle it is said that "Spanish grants and coolie labor" have hindered the development of California.

⁵Statistics of Asiatic Exclusion League, San Francisco.

⁶Report of Governor Frear, 1909.

⁷United States Senate Report 776, February, 1902.

⁸Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 66, September, 1906.

⁹J. Kuhio Kalanianaʻole, Hawaiian Delegate to Congress.

Asiatics in that territory already threatens American supremacy in the political field.

With the progress of industrial development in Asia, involving a radical change in the national habit of life, from that of "sacrificing production to population," as under a hand-labor system of industry, to one of "sacrificing population to production," as under a machine system of industry, it is inevitable that the struggle for an outlet for the surplus population must constantly become more severe. Unless checked by exclusion laws, the forced migration of the disemployed of Asia will follow the line of least resistance, namely, toward the western shores of the United States.

The demand for Asiatic exclusion originated in the earliest period of American development on the Pacific Coast. In 1852, the California legislature imposed a tax upon Chinese miners. Subsequently other state measures were adopted as a means of protecting American labor from competition with Chinese. These measures were declared invalid, as being beyond the authority of the state. In 1877, the California legislature passed an act calling for a vote of the people on the question of Chinese immigration. The vote was taken on September 3, 1879, and resulted in 833 votes in favor and 154,638 against the admission of Chinese. The adoption of the Burlingame Treaty, in 1868, followed by various acts of Congress enacted in 1882, 1884, 1888, 1892 and 1902, marks the respective stages of the federal legislation culminating in the total exclusion of Chinese, other than "merchants, teachers, students and travelers for pleasure or curiosity."

In 1854, Victoria and New South Wales, Australia, enacted Asiatic restriction laws. At present Asiatics are practically excluded from Canada, Australia and New Zealand by a prohibitive head tax of \$500. In the two last-named countries this tax is imposed upon all persons not of white color and blood, even though they be British subjects.

The principles of exclusion and the means of attaining that object are very well set forth by United States Senator Newlands, in the following terms:¹⁰

History teaches that it is impossible to make a homogeneous people by a juxtaposition of races differing in color upon the same soil. Race tolerance, under such conditions, means race amalgamation, and this is unde-

¹⁰Letter of Senator Newlands to the Legislature of Nevada, February 3, 1909.

sirable. Race intolerance means, ultimately, race war and mutual destruction, or the reduction of one of the races to servitude. The admission of a race of a different color, in a condition of industrial servitude, is foreign to our institutions, which demand equal rights to all within our jurisdiction. The competition of such a race would involve industrial disturbance and hostility, requiring the use of a large armed force to maintain peace and order, with the probability that the nation representing the race thus protected would never be satisfied that the means employed were adequate. The presence of the Chinese, who are patient and submissive, would not create as many complications as the presence of the Japanese, whose strong and virile qualities would constitute an additional factor of difficulty. *Our friendship, therefore, with Japan, for whose territorial and race integrity the American people have stood in active sympathy in all her struggles, demands that this friendship should not be put to the test by bringing two such powerful races of such differing views and standards into industrial competition upon the same soil. . . .*

Our country should by law, to take effect after the expiration of existing treaties, prevent the immigration into this country of all peoples other than those of the white race, except under restricted conditions relating to international commerce, travel, and education. . . . Japan cannot justly take offense at such action. She would be the first to take such action against the white race were it necessary to maintain her institutions. She is at liberty to pursue the same course. . . . *Thus, upon the expiration of the present treaty with Japan and without attendant attacks upon Japanese sensibilities, public opinion will be so shaped as to force a calm and rational solution of the question by purely domestic and national legislation.*

The conclusion of the whole matter then is that exclusion is the only alternative of race degeneracy or race war.